



TO THE
PEOPLE OF MANCHESTER.

Brighton, 28th of July, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

AFTER holding the CHOPSTICK FESTIVAL of SUTTON SCOTNEY, going from the north-west to the south-easternmost part of HAMPSHIRE, taking into my tour the beautiful ISLE OF WIGHT, and there routing the tax-eating TORRENS from the borough of NEWPORT by the means of that very exposition, which, before I left LONDON, I had sent down to BOLTON, whence, if he be not also routed by this time, the electors of BOLTON will deserve to be compelled to stagger along, like the ass of ISSACHAR, between two burdens, to the last hour of their disgraceful lives; after this tour in HAMPSHIRE, and proceeding into SUSSEX, stopping to lecture at CHICHESTER, and then coming on through ARUNDEL, passing by WORTHING and BOGNOR, and coming through SHOREHAM, all along as near to the sea as a road can well go, and through crops of corn the finest I ever beheld in my life, I arrived on the 26th of July at this town of BRIGHTON, certainly surpassing in beauty all other towns in the world; it is closely bounded on one side by the sea; surrounded on the other sides by lofty and verdant hills, between which run valleys in every direction, covered with

corn and with flocks, and decorated with lofty and beautiful trees. BRIGHTON is all beauty, whether as to the streets, the buildings, the carriages, the horses, or the dresses of the people. The neatest of carriages stand about the streets for you to step into at your pleasure. To accommodate the children there are abundance of beautiful chaises and coaches in miniature, drawn by goats, elegantly harnessed, and attended by lads dressed in a manner bespeaking the high pay that they receive for their trouble. In short, it is all a scene of evident wealth, of pleasure, and of luxury.

It is impossible *for me* to behold all this without calling to my recollection the weavers, stripped naked to their waists, and the sweat running down their bodies, in the dismal cellars of PRESTON. Everything that I behold here is *created by the taxes*. This is a place of no trade; of no commerce at all; it has no harbour; it is no place of deposit or of transit for corn or for goods or for cattle: it is all a pure creation of the taxing and funding-system; the valleys and sides of hills, now covered with elegant houses, were formerly corn-fields, and downs for the pasture of sheep. Very pretty is the town and its virandas and carriages, and harnessed goats; very pretty to *behold*; but dismal to think of, when one reflects that they all proceed from the unrequited toil of those who create all the valuable things in the country, and who are despised as something beneath the care of those who make the laws. The history of the world presents us, invariably, with grand buildings, great luxury, show of every description, as the companions of a general misery of the people. No great nation has ever ex-

perienced a fall or a dreadful revolution, without that fall or revolution having been preceded by show and luxury which have astonished the world. This is precisely the case of ENGLAND now. In the passing of the Reform Bill an effort has been made to save the country from revolution; but saved from revolution it cannot be, unless that Reform Bill produce such a change as shall restore to the labouring part of the community that share in the fruits of the earth which, according to all laws human and divine, is their unquestionable right.

For the Reform Bill to produce this change, however, those who are to have the power of voting must resolve to do their duty; must not forget that they are not merely voting for *themselves*, but that each is voting for a circle of his neighbours, from whom the right of voting is yet withheld, and unjustly withheld too. Each elector should bear this in mind; *and if he do not bear it in mind, he ought to be reminded of it.* During the debates on the Reform Bill the advocates of the bill contended, that the ten-pound voters would *be the representatives of the people who had no votes.* This ought to be constantly borne in mind by both parties.

I perceive that every effort will be made to keep the *counties* in the hands of the aristocracy, as much, if not more, than before. *The small boroughs*, where the working people have little influence, will be generally under the control of the aristocracy and their big tenants. The populous boroughs, such as PORTSMOUTH, BRIGHTON, BATH, BRISTOL, NORWICH, and some others in the south, will probably do their duty very well; and this town of BRIGHTON, in particular, seems resolved on the returning of one member at least, Mr. GEORGE FAITHFULL, who is not to be surpassed by any one that you can send from the north. But, as I always said, our principal reliance must be upon the *great towns in the north*, beginning at Birmingham, and ending at Paisley and Glasgow. I trust that those towns will send one hundred men, at any rate, willing and able to plead the cause of

the working millions, to take the burdens from their backs, and to rescue from a life of slavery their children who are now in the cradle.

For *myself*, my friends, taken in connexion with the town of MANCHESTER, I say what I have always said upon the subject; that if I were to consult my own private taste, I should not be a member of Parliament for any place; but that it would be cowardice to hang back when the striking time is come; and that, to the great glory of my name being sent through the world associated with that of MANCHESTER, is added this consideration, namely, that MANCHESTER contains the greatest mass of working people of any one spot in the whole world; to which circumstances may be added, that whatever power I may possess of being serviceable to the people, would be greatly augmented by my standing before your oppressors with *you at my back.*

IT IS MY INTENTION TO BE AT MANCHESTER IN THE LAST WEEK OF AUGUST, on my way, probably, to the very northern counties of ENGLAND, if not to PAISLEY and GLASGOW. In the meanwhile, I repeat an expression of my great anxiety to be elected for MANCHESTER. With regard to the banker LLOYD, and a loan-monger of the name of HOPE, who is, I believe, a relation of the BARINGS, and who has, I perceive, offered himself to you; with regard to these men, they cannot be worthy of my notice; for if they be, the electors of MANCHESTER cannot be.

Every day's experience tends to confirm me in the wisdom, justice, and necessity of adopting the fourteen propositions, which I had the honour to submit to you last winter. There is one subject of pretty general interest, and which I did not then touch upon, namely, the *continued existence of Negro slavery.* I have always said, that I detested slavery in every form and under every name; that I never would accept of the services of a slave when his master offered it to me for nothing; that, however, the question with us was, whether we should abandon the WEST INDIA ISLANDS, or continue to

maintain this slavery. Since I was last in the north, I have seen quite enough to convince me, that it would be better to abandon the ISLANDS altogether, than to uphold the Negro slavery. It now appears, that, in fact, these slaves are in general, *the property of the English boroughmongers*; that they are so in great part at least; and that the fruit of the labour of these slaves abroad, has long been converted into the means of making us slaves at home. Travelling in WILTSHIRE some years ago, I found a whole village the property of one man, and I found the *neighbouring borough* half his property also. His establishments were those of a prince, both in town and country; and I now find, that the source of all this, was the labour of slaves in JAMAICA. Besides these discoveries, brought to light by recent meetings of the aristocracy being the chief proprietors in the islands; there are the bloody transactions which have recently taken place: *there is the execution of the dissenting ministers*, whose offence appears to have been that of teaching the Christian religion to the slaves, that religion forbidding the holding of man in slavery. For these reasons, and particularly for the reason that the slavery is made use of as the means of keeping us in slavery, I am resolved to support any man to the utmost of my power, who shall propose the abolition of the slavery of the NEGROES: when I find the Marquis of CHANDOS, the Earl of HAREWOOD, and great numbers of the deadly *enemies of reform*, to be great holders of slaves, the natural conclusion is, that their continuing to hold slaves cannot be good to the people of ENGLAND.

Until I have the pleasure of seeing you again face to face, I conjure you all to bear in mind, that the fate of the country, and particularly the deliverance of the working millions, now depend upon the public virtue, upon the good sense and the resolution of the great towns of the north.

I am your faithful friend, and

most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO PEEL'S-BILL PEEL.

ON HIS SPEECH OF THE 27TH OF JULY, 1832, ON THE FOLLOWING MATTERS:

1. *On the Effect of Taxes on the People.*
2. *On the Reduction of Taxation.*
3. *On the Currency.*
4. *On the time for the calling of the new Parliament.*
5. *On National Faith.*
6. *On the Colonies.*
7. *On Foreign Affairs.*

Firle, near Lewes, Sussex, 30th of July, 1832.

PEEL'S-BILL PEEL,

On Sunday, the 22nd instant, I went to church at HAVANT, the last town in HAMPSHIRE coming towards the east; and, to a congregation very numerous, and consisting of persons of general good sense, I heard a heap of as blundering stuff as one would wish to hear, doled out under the name of a sermon by a man, who, I am told, was an officer in the army during the late war. His name is MOUNTAIN, and he has a brother a parson at HEMEL-HEMPSTEAD, or in the neighbourhood, in HERTFORDSHIRE, and who has recently figured in that neighbourhood as a justice of the peace. At HAVANT I gave them a sermon of my sort, on Monday, the 23rd. I did the like at Chichester on the 24th and 25th; and at Brighton on the 26th, 27th, and 28th. "Six days shalt thou work" and on the seventh thou shalt go to church, which, in order to avoid the sight of fine dresses and the like, I did yesterday at this village, which is as beautiful a one as any in all ENGLAND; and, which is a matter of more importance than the beauty of the country and the fineness of the crops and the herds of fine DEVONSHIRE and HEREFORDSHIRE oxen in the meadows, and the flocks of beautiful South-down sheep on the hills and in the fields, the congregation, consisting of almost the whole of the persons in the parish, exhibited no marks of that haggard poverty, that miserable degradation, which I beheld at MICHELDEVER, and which I have never beheld anywhere else in the

same extreme degree, except in the fine, rich, and beautiful valleys of WILTSHIRE, which, to the disgrace of the last-mentioned county, I shall never omit to mention, unless I shall live to see the working people there treated better. At this church at FIRLE, which is in itself and its surrounding trees a most beautiful thing, there were two old men who walked with crutches, and who were not so well dressed as they ought to have been, and whom the farmers of FIRLE would not suffer to be so badly dressed as they were if they were to read in the Bible the terrible denunciations against those who neglect the poor and needy; and who, while they are establishing schools and distributing Bibles about, were to read the EPISTLE of ST. JAMES, which LUTHER called an "Epistle of Straw;" but which they would find to contain most awful denunciations against them if they withheld from the poor their due share of the fruits of the earth. With the exception of these two old men, there was not a shabbily dressed person: the young men were nicely and decently dressed; the young girls were finely dressed, as they ought to be. The more aged were dressed according to their age; the parson, in a very plain discourse on the subject of baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's Supper, gave us some very wholesome instruction, and in a very unaffected manner; and, what I have not seen since my return from AMERICA in 1800, the *psalm-singing* was in the old fashion, by a group of chopsticks assembled in a gallery. This is apparently a trifling affair; but it has been an affair of great importance to the established church; and very well worthy the attention of even a *statesman*. "Why then," some one will say, "do you address it to a fellow like PEEL'S-BILL PEEL?" Why, I do not address it to him. I am about to write to him on other matters, of which, indeed, he understands no more than he does of this; but I have the pen in my hand: it will amuse my readers to know how I came to the village of FIRLE; and I may as well put down here as anywhere else, what I

have to say about this *psalm-singing*, by their conduct relative to which the parsons have driven innumerable flocks from the church to the meeting-house.

Fifty years ago it was the universal practice in all the villages and in all the country towns, for psalms to be sung by *singers*, consisting of persons belonging to the parish, who sang while the rest of the congregation sat silent. When PITT and his villanous paper money had introduced a mass of luxuries theretofore unknown in England, boarding-schools sprang up among the other toadstools of the system. *Music* became part of education, and the farm-houses, out of which the men and boys had been driven to make way for the music-master and the piano, became scenes of refinement in which the nose was turned up at the homely singing of the church. Organs were introduced; the general singing of the congregation, in imitation of the tabernacles of LONDON, crept about from church to church; *hymns* took the place of the psalms, but all this did not nearly equal what was going on in the meeting-houses.

In hundreds and in thousands of instances the church congregation has been absolutely broken up by the musical ears of the parson's wife and daughters being too delicate to endure the choristers of the gallery. At BOTLEY, where I myself lived, there had always been a set of singers in the parish, priding themselves on their powers in that way. BAKER, the parson so famed for his *cow and calf*, came out of SUFFOLK to take possession of his living about a year before I went to live in the village. He and his wife were both "*musical*;" their ears were shocked at the parish singing; they wanted to have an organ, which the parish would not consent to. The parson then *exerted his authority*, and forbade the singing which had been going on for two centuries; and *he and his wife* actually used to exhibit as singers before the congregation, just like a couple of player-folks singing a duet on the stage! But mark the consequence; the singers left the church; the congregation followed them; a crowded Me-

thodist meeting-house began instantly to hold the people; and I have been at the church many times when there has been nobody but myself and one or two others of my own family, together with the parson and the clerk and the parson's wife. So that, as far as religion is concerned, the tithes at Botley, at any rate, are of no use whatsoever, though the rector be resident; and this arising, in the first instance at least, from his stupid interference in the taste of his parishioners.

This, or something very nearly resembling it, has been the case in thousands of parishes, and it is one of the things which have actually laid the foundation for that series of proceedings which must end in taking revenge upon this establishment. The people venerate things long established. Of all the people in the world none dislike innovation so much as the country people in England. Improvement, when it is real, and even manifest, finds great difficulty in making its way amongst them, because it necessarily implies change. What an insolent fool must a parson have been then to want to do away with a practice so long established, and at the same time so great a favourite with the people. About twenty years ago there was the common psalm-singing at MICHELDEVER; and I remember that my second son, who was there a little while at school with the parson of the parish, used to describe to me with great delight, the singing at MICHELDEVER, of which we had none at BOTLEY. Old FRANCIS BARING had too much sense to suffer this order of things to be disturbed; and the parish used, as far as I can judge, to be a very happy one; but TOM BARING having succeeded, with his great stock of piety and with his curate (for he himself is the rector) of, apparently the new caste, the psalm-singers are banished, and the hymn-book is introduced; the parson stands up in his pulpit as head-singer; and there is a bawling and squalling that admits not of adequate description. To be a singer in a parish used to be a little feather in a chopstick's cap; even that is now too great an honour for him: he

is to be nothing but a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. I was, therefore, having long been disgusted with the innovations introduced in this respect by the insolent parsons and their more insolent wives, not less pleased than surprised, at hearing the psalms sung by a set of singers with smock-frocks on their backs, just as I used to hear them when I was a boy. And very sure I am, that if the church revenues were taken away from those who now unjustly devour them, and a clergy established upon just and equitable terms, all the ancient manners, all the ancient virtues, and all the ancient absence of crime, would again return; while the tasteful parsons and their tasteful wives might become player-folks if they would, or follow some other calling, in which, at any rate, they would not be mischievous to the country.

Returning to LEWES last night, which place I have made my head-quarters for the present, and finding there the *Morning Chronicle* of the 28th, containing the report of your speech of the 27th, I resolved to come to this village to-day, and here to write a commentary on the said speech; embracing, as it does, something more or less on each of the seven topics stated at the head of this letter. Nobody in the House answered you, and nobody dared; for the other faction have the same interest that you have: to have exposed you would have been to expose themselves. Your speech is, in fact, a speech for them as well as for yourself. You want no reduction of expenditure; God knows they want none; but my views are not the same as theirs nor as yours. I can expose you, not only from taste, but from a sense of duty; and I shall now take your speech, and insert the whole of it, topic by topic, and comment thereon as I proceed.

1. On the Effect of Taxes on the People.

"Sir ROBERT PEEL thought the noble Lord had acted perfectly fair in laying before the House, as far as he was able, an estimate of the exact

" state of our financial prospects ; and
 " though these, certainly, were not very
 " prosperous, yet he did not think the
 " deficiency was such as to give any
 " serious cause for alarm. (Hear, hear.)
 " He agreed with the right hon. Baronet,
 " that there was an elasticity in the re-
 " sources of the country, more than
 " adequate to the demands upon it. He
 " did not, however, think it politic to
 " have a deficiency, for the Government
 " might be driven, either to incur fresh
 " debt,—and when he spoke of incur-
 " ring *fresh debt*, he included the issuing
 " of exchequer bills, and all those ex-
 " pedients which were resorted to for
 " the purpose of turning off a tem-
 " porary inconvenience (hear, hear) ; or
 " the only other course would be the im-
 " position of fresh taxes. Now he thought
 " it much better to keep those taxes
 " which are already laid, than to repeal
 " them, and then be driven to impose
 " others in their stead. In the present
 " state of public feeling, however, he
 " must say that he did not think it pos-
 " sible to keep up a great surplus re-
 " venue. (Hear, hear.) And when he
 " recommended Ministers to keep up
 " an excess of revenue over expendi-
 " ture, he did not contemplate such a
 " surplus as might be appropriated to
 " the purpose of paying off any part of
 " the debt, but sufficient to provide
 " against contingencies or unexpected
 " emergencies. It was much better to
 " maintain a tax to which the people
 " were habituated, than run the risk of
 " being compelled to *impose a new one*.
 " When a new tax was laid, many ways
 " were found of evading it : but when
 " it had existed for five or six years, the
 " excise and revenue officers discovered
 " and prosecuted impostors. Capital,
 " also, *became used to its operation*.
 " (Hear.) He spoke of the generality
 " of taxes, and without reference to the
 " extreme case of a tax which might
 " have become particularly odious.
 " He could not, however, concur in
 " the *gloomy view* which some persons
 " took of the state of our finances ;
 " persons who even ventured to doubt
 " our ability to *maintain the public*
 " *faith* ; he had no such opinion.

" (Cheers.) Nor could he agree with
 " those who contended that the state
 " of the revenue indicated any in-
 " crease of privation among the la-
 " bouring classes. There was a set of
 " men who had *just started up*, and who
 " had discovered that the currency was
 " *not sufficiently extensive* to meet the
 " *necessities of the labouring man* ;
 " and that whereas the Bank issued
 " 17,000,000*l.* per quarter, they ought
 " to issue 25,000,000*l.*, which they, in
 " their wisdom, had laid down to be the
 " precise amount requisite for the cir-
 " culation ; on the contrary, they found
 " such an increase of consumption in
 " many of those articles which tend
 " much to the *comfort of the labouring*
 " *classes*, as to afford matter of congra-
 " tulation, and give rise to a well-
 " founded belief that their distresses
 " had been diminished, and their priva-
 " tions mitigated. The increase in some
 " articles of the revenue might be ex-
 " plained by the effect of the previous
 " alterations in the duties ; thus the
 " amount of revenue derived from the
 " duties on bricks had increased, whilst
 " that derived from the duties on tiles
 " had decreased. That was to be ac-
 " counted for by the remission of the
 " duties as stated. The revenue from
 " glass had decreased, but that arose
 " from the practice of making glass
 " thinner, and consequently a less quan-
 " tity would cover a larger surface. But
 " let them look to the *consumption of*
 " *malt* : there had been an increase in
 " the consumption of that one article of
 " 7,600,000 *bushels* on the average con-
 " sumption of the last three years ; that
 " was a test of the increasing comforts
 " and *prosperity of the labouring classes* ;
 " for he considered that malt liquor was
 " to them not a luxury *but a necessary* ;
 " and when there had been so many ob-
 " jections raised to the operation of the
 " Beer Bill, he referred to that one fact
 " *to prove its great advantages*. This
 " increase of consumable articles was a
 " great proof of the increasing comforts
 " of the lower orders. The right hon.
 " Baronet then adduced the increased
 " consumption of various other articles
 " in support of this position."

The SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT, whether it arose from the native muddiness of their heads; or from their carrying on their works by owl-light and candle-light; or from the circumstance of a guttling and guzzling shop being over their heads, and their visiting it so frequently during their deliberations on matters affecting our property, our liberties, our lives: whatever it may arise from, there always appears to be a confusion of ideas in every thing which one hears in this assembly of six hundred and fifty-eight. Thus you could not offer your opinion upon the nature and effects of taxation generally, without introducing and mixing up and jumbling together along with it something about *public faith* and about the *operation of the currency*; two subjects quite distinct, having nothing to do with the other subject; and yet all are, as it were, tossed into a mess and mixed up like the different ingredients of a half stinking French ragout. So that to the trouble of commenting upon nonsense, I have the trouble of first separating and analysing the nonsense itself. Here, then, I shall reserve, till I come to those topics, what is here said about *currency* and *national faith*; and confine myself at present to what is here said about the effect which taxes have upon the people.

You are pleased that there appears to have been an increase in the consumption of articles which tend much to the *comfort of the labouring classes*. Now, before I go further, let me ask you, whether you supposed that the labouring classes are not affected by any taxes except those which are imposed on articles which they consume. This is the general notion among the six hundred and fifty-eight. Their notion is, that if all the taxes were paid directly by the rich, the poor would not feel the effect of them. Why, if all the fifty-four millions of taxes were laid upon the land, the labouring man would bear as great a portion of them as he does at this hour. Let it be property-tax; let it be income-tax; let it be what it may, it will go on shifting itself from the shoulders of those above to the should-

ders of those beneath; and will always fall *with the greatest degree of weight on the lowest*. This, which must be manifest to every man who possesses the powers of reflection, who is not stupid to the degree that the jester CANNING was stupid, who said that, to lay out money on palaces was peculiarly proper in times of general distress, because *it furnished employment* to many whom distress threw out of work, not having brains to perceive that taxes must be raised to get the money to lay out upon the palaces, and that the taking away of the taxes would diminish the means of the tax-payers to give employment. To every man not stupid to this frightful degree it must be evident, that taxes, lay them where and how you will, must finally fall in their heaviest degree upon those who have but just enough to live without any taxes at all. What, then, are we to think of those men who propose to *relieve the nation* by taking off excise duties and laying on taxes on property? There is one thing indeed, which is to be attended to here as an exception; and that is, *when you lay on a tax upon a tax; when you lay on a tax upon those who receive the taxes*; such as a tax upon pensions and sinecures, or on the funds; and this is, in reality, not a tax; *but it is so much deducted from what the nation has to pay*.

But, I am now to speak of what you say about the *increased consumption of malt*, which you look upon, as a mark of the increased comfort and prosperity of the working people; and, you are perfectly right here: it is a proof of their increased comfort and prosperity. I am afraid that the poor toiling creatures at the furnaces, at the anvils, and at the looms, have experienced none of this increased prosperity; but that the labourers in agriculture have, I know very well; I know it with inexpressible satisfaction; and my satisfaction is the greater because I know that it has arisen from their *own resolution not to be starved*. When the men of EAST KENT, unfurled their banner, with the words, "WE WILL NOT LIVE UPON POTATOES," they pronounced



the doom of this taxing system. Into KENT, and on the very spot too, where this banner was hoisted, Christianity first came into England; and that event, great as it was, was attended with consequences scarcely more important than those that will attend the unfurling of that banner. St. AUSTIN brought to our country deliverance from the darkness of heathenism: that banner will bring to it deliverance from IRISH starvation; and it will finally bring deliverance to the unhappy and ill-treated IRISH, too. The country labourers, including the smiths and wheelwrights and collar-makers and all the village shoemakers, tailors, and the like, are much better off than they were two years ago. In the north of HAMPSHIRE, in WILTSHIRE, perhaps in some other parts of the country, the cruel monsters have endeavoured to get them back to the bag of cold potatoes at plough; but they have not succeeded; and, in proportion to their success is the sum of their well-grounded apprehensions. Even at MICHELDEVER the working people are better off than they were before the men of KENT hoisted their banner. Many means are used to prevent *the positive rise of wages*; but there are various ways in which more food and drink find their way to the mouths, and in which more clothing finds its way to the backs of the working people. I have heard of a parish in HAMPSHIRE, in which upwards of nine pounds a week were paid for WATCHING, during twenty weeks, beginning with the 1st of November last! Here are *a hundred and eighty pounds sterling*; and these are divided amongst the labourers of the parish. The hard-hearted fools could not find in their hearts to give the hundred and eighty pounds in additional wages, which would have rendered all watching wholly unnecessary. But, no matter; the labourers get it some how or another: they are getting it, generally speaking, all over the country; and, here, PEELY, here is the true cause of the additional consumption of malt; here is also the cause of honest Lord ALTHORP's straitened means; here is the

true cause of the falling off of his taxes; for, though the additional millions, received by the labourers, are in part laid out in beer, they are, in much greater part, in ten thousand times greater proportion, laid out in bread and meat and shoes and smockfrocks and hats, and other necessary things upon which my Lord ALTHORP has not so direct a lien. This is the true cause of the falling off of the taxes. The labourers have taken from the big farmers, the parsons, and the landlords, a part of that which they had to spend in taxable commodities. The Government is compelled to pinch as much as it can. Its squanderings are rather restricted compared to what they were, and hence the "*dulness*" at the watering places; hence the *empty theatres* everywhere; hence the ruin of thousands of tradesmen in the WEN; and, cry as much as they will about it, the "*vast improvements*" of REGENT-STREET, "PALL MALL East," and "WEST STRAND," are destined to see the grass grow before them! It is useless to sigh and cry. The fall must come. It is either that or cold potatoes in the labourers' luncheon-bags; though Judge VAUGHAN thought that the potatoes in the bag was a matter of no sort of importance. Along with the prosperity of the agricultural labourer, will come the prosperity of the labourer at the anvil and the loom. It may be called "*cruel*" to look with a dry eye at the prospect of seeing PALL MALL East broken up; but it requires a harder heart to view with a dry eye millions of labourers with cold potatoes in their luncheon-bags. For forty-two years the hellish PITT system has been going on *creating idlers*, and robbing the industrious for their support: palaces, and whole streets of palaces, have been rising up out of the robbery. Put a stop to the robbery, and these will come tumbling down. The labourers go slowly on in the recovery of their rights: they are sure to recover them in the end; and PALL MALL East and the PILE AT PIMLICO will, in their altered appearance, proclaim the change to the world.

You, PEELY, say very truly that malt

is a necessary to the working people. It is so; it is one of the great things: the infernal tax upon it, and the more infernal tax upon the hops, have driven the beer-barrel out of the labouring man's house; have driven him to carry a bottle of water to the field when he is MOWING, work which strains every nerve from the top of the toe to the crown of the head, while the sun is darting his rays down upon the labourer's back: and, PEELE, if there has been such an increase in the consumption of malt, without the tax being taken off or diminished, *what would the increase be if the tax were abolished?* We shall then have *your support*, to be sure, in taking off these internal taxes upon the malt and the hops! Agreeing with you here, as far as you go, and glad that you have made the admission, I defer further discussion on this subject until the hives of the north shall send me to meet you on the same floor: and thus I dismiss this first part of your speech.

2. On the Reduction of Taxation.

"Another ground of congratulation was the diminution of the public expenditure. The noble Lord had certainly effected a considerable reduction in this head. But before he could congratulate himself that the whole of that reduction would be permanent, it would be necessary to consider what were the articles on which the reduction had taken place. The principal articles were the extraordinaries of the army and navy. If in the latter, for instance, it arose from not purchasing stores, it was clear that such a reduction, though perhaps a very proper one for the current year, could not be calculated on as permanent; for the time was arrived when new ships and new stores would be required. In the army there was no reduction of force which would make a permanent saving. The saving was, therefore, in the militia and in the extraordinaries. The saving in the militia arose from its not having been called out during the last year, which sav-

ing, therefore, was not permanent; but in the extraordinaries there was a permanent reduction of perhaps 200,000*l.* per annum. The House would observe, that it was very important in all those instances, to inquire whether the reduction was casual or permanent. He did not agree with the right hon. Bart. who had spoken last, that a material diminution of expenditure was to be anticipated from a reformed Parliament. *Why was such reduction to be expected in a reformed Parliament more than in the present?* Did the right hon. Bart. think that the noble Lord opposite would have experienced any difficulty in carrying any measure of reduction through the present Parliament?

"Sir H. PARNELL—I think not.

"Sir R. PEELE—The right hon. Gentleman admitted that he thought not. He could not, therefore, rely much on the next Parliament for reduction. He did not believe that any measures of reduction which the noble Lord could propose in the present Parliament would meet with opposition through the selfish feelings of any member—certainly not of a majority. (Hear.) Under no fresh constitution of Parliament could the Government anticipate a greater reduction than their own sense of duty would lead them to propose, and the good feeling of such a House of Commons as the present would lead them to sanction."

Sir HENRY PARNELL had said that, if his noble Friend should be, as he hoped he would, continued in his present office, "he ought to remember, *that under the new Parliament he would be the only Finance Minister who ever had it in his power to reduce the expenditure*; other Finance Ministers might have been as willing as his noble Friend, but in the former state of the representation they had not the power. He looked forward to the reformed Parliament, in the expectation that it would effect a material reduction in the expenditure." The part of your speech which I have last quoted is an answer to this. You do

not agree with PARNELL in supposing that a reformed Parliament would be any more disposed to reduce taxes than the present Parliament is. You ask PARNELL whether he thinks the noble Lord would have experienced any difficulty in carrying any measure of reduction in the present Parliament; and, strange to say, PARNELL is represented as acknowledging that he would not have experienced any difficulty in carrying any such measure of reduction through the present Parliament! Well, then, this reformed Parliament is to be a sad moonshine affair after all; we shall get nothing by it but merely schedules A and B and the division of the counties; and so MACAULAY has told the people at LEEDS, and so the WHIGS are preaching up everywhere. You do not care much about my being hanged I dare say, but if a reformed Parliament do not reduce taxes before it has sitten a year; and that, too, to a very great amount, if nobody else will take the trouble to hang me, I will hang myself, if I belong to that Parliament. In your character, PEELY, there are many traits, some of which delight one person and some another, my favourite is your *amiable simplicity*, which, conspicuous at all times, was never I think so conspicuous as in the question which you here put; namely, "WHY" is such a reduction to be expected in "a reformed Parliament *more than in the present Parliament?*" Aye, *why* indeed! *why* are we to expect that a reformed Parliament will not continue to vote *two thousand five hundred pounds* a year pension to BURKE thirty-three years after the man has been dead? *why* are we to expect that a reformed Parliament will not continue to vote *six hundred and fifty thousand pounds* a year to a *hundred and thirteen of the aristocracy*, a sum greater than that of the poor-rates in the first five ENGLISH counties in the alphabetical list; and a sum more than twice as great as the amount of all the poor-rates in the twelve counties in WALES? *why* are we to expect that the representatives of a people, a great number of the working part of whom still live

upon potatoes, will not vote away annually a parcel of our money actually to be sent abroad to be given to foreigners under the names of half-pay and pensions and allowances? *why*, indeed, are we to expect that a reformed Parliament will not continue to support out of the taxes squeezed from the labouring man, whole tribes of families written down upon the pension-list? *why* are we to expect that a reformed Parliament will not be willing to tax the people to keep up military and naval academies, where the offspring of the aristocracy and the parsons and their dependants are actually nursed up from their babyhood, and educated at the expense of the working people? It were unreasonable, indeed, to expect that a reformed Parliament would object to this! and *why* should a reformed Parliament not approve of having three hundred and two barracks, and three generals to every regiment of horse and foot, and two admirals to every ship of the line! WHY, indeed, as you say with so much and such amiable *naïveté*, which however was not sufficient to induce you to ask why a reformed Parliament should not be driven out with hedge-stakes and flint stones, and why the boroughmonger Parliament should not be called back to supply their place. Ah! PEELY, it is an *opinion* which we express here: it is your fear which we discover: just like the girl when she expressed her confidence that her lover would not leave her; the expression arising solely from her too confident and too correct expectation of the evil that was about to befall her. You will see taxes reduced, PEELY; and, remember, that I tell you that you will do well to join in the work; for that if you do not, you will become a very contemptible person in spite of your millions of money.

3. On the Currency.

4. On the time for the calling of the new Parliament.

"The noble Lord had attributed the diminution of the revenue to three causes. To the cholera, political ex-

"citement, and the state of the currency. With reference to the first cause, he believed that the apprehension of foreign powers had produced a sensible effect upon our trade. With respect to political excitement, the noble Lord thought that it was about to be at an end, and that consequently there would be an increase of the revenue. He hoped that it might be so, but there *appeared to be no great diminution of it in Ireland.* (Hear.)

"Lord ALTHORP was understood to say, that the revenue in Ireland had increased last year, notwithstanding the excitement.

"Sir R. PEEL said, the noble Lord knew best on that point, but he thought the fears entertained in Ireland for the security of property would do more to diminish the revenue than the excitement of political warfare. The noble Lord had also adverted to the currency as one of the causes of the deficiency in the revenue, and he had observed, that the changes which had taken place, as well as the uncertainty which prevailed with respect to ultimate proceedings, and the effect produced by the fluctuation in the exchanges, had doubtless contributed much to that state of things in which they at present found themselves. Now in his (Sir R. Peel's) opinion, the noble Lord had diminished the consequences of the cholera, and he had much over-rated the effects of the changes in the currency. Undoubtedly, however, the Bank had contracted its issues, and, as a consequence, the proceedings of the country banks must have been limited, and the capital required for the operations of commerce decreased. Now if this were so, how necessary did it become, on the part of the noble Lord and his colleagues, to seize the earliest possible opportunity to place the foundation of all the currency on some sure and satisfactory basis. (Hear, hear.) Parliament should not be allowed to separate without some expression on the part of the noble Lord as to the course which the Government intended to

"pursue with respect to the *question now under agitation.* (Hear, hear.) He (Sir R. Peel) remembered well the bullion committee, and the difference of opinions which prevailed; but although the members were bound to secrecy, the noble Lord, as a Minister of the Crown, had his own views on the subject, and he was bound, for the sake of the country, to make them public at the present crisis. It was possible, perhaps certain, that the committee would make no report during the present session; and unless Parliament assembled *for a short sitting in October* or November, which he supposed was rather improbable, *six months must elapse* before the country could receive information on that most interesting subject. (Hear, hear.) He repeated, full six months; for the elections could not under any circumstances, take place much before December, and as there were snows and storms in the north at that season, which must be taken into account, it was not at all improbable *that the elections might not take place during the present year.* With six months of recess, then, before them, he put it to the noble Lord whether it would not be politic to put an end to that state of uncertainty which the noble Lord admitted to have so strong an effect on the issues and the exchanges, by at once stating what were the views of the Government on the question. (Hear, hear.) No one expected the noble Lord to go into details which were to form the subject of deliberation hereafter; but the noble Lord and the Government must have already made up their minds on the great leading points of the course they intended to pursue; and if the noble Lord described correctly the prejudicial effects of the existing state of uncertainty, he recommended him to put a termination to it by avowing at once the opinion of the Government." (Hear, hear.)

You have twisted these two topics together in such a way that I must take them under one head; and I will take the last topic first. "*A short sitting in*

October and November!" Ah! sayest thou so? and honest Lord ALTHORP; that sincere Whig; THE HONEST, *par excellence!* he says nothing! You send out a *feeler for another session of this Parliament*; you send out that feeler, and the honest Lord remains mum! and then "six months *must* elapse!" Why *must*? All this looks very ugly; and then come the "snows and storms in the north!" I hope they will not be as heavy as BRADERT's "fall of snow!" What! is the reform of Parliament to depend upon the weather, after all? I have long suspected that this Parliament would *meet again*; and now I suspect it more strongly than ever; nay, I should not be at all surprised if the reformed Parliament never met! We are not to be deceived, mind; our eyes are all open; and so, as to that matter, you may set your heart at rest. I know, that, whether the reform Parliament meet or not, *things will be reformed*; and perhaps the sooner for acting upon the feeler which is here put forth, and which feeler I am quite prepared for seeing turned into a reality. I expect all sorts of means to be tried to keep this present Parliament in existence; it clings to life with more anxiety than sinner ever did; it is manifestly afraid to move, as the soul is afraid to quit its tenement of clay. Like dying men of a certain description, it looks backward first, and then it looks forward with dread. If there be a short sitting such as you talk of, another year's taxes will again be voted away. When that is done no other Parliament will be needed for the purpose of taxing and voting money; and I should not at all wonder to hear it announced by degrees that the present Parliament was to sit out its seven years. You uttered these words, and on these words *the Ministers made no remark*. It was a matter of vast importance, and yet they said not a word.

Now, as to the affair of the currency; the remark in the early part of your speech, on the sect *which had just started up*, and had discovered that the currency *was not sufficiently extensive* to meet the necessities of the labouring man. The sect has not just started up:

it has been pretty busily on foot for fifteen years, and its doctrines are truly ridiculous, besides being mischievous. The sum and substance of its doctrines is this, *that money ought to be increased in quantity as saleable commodities increase in quantity*. This is the sum and substance of the doctrine of this sect. Now, this year there are corn of all sorts, apples, pears, potatoes, all sorts of produce, in quantity full two-fifths greater than in any year since the year 1818. According to this doctrine, then, there ought to be two millions of money made to put into circulation in addition to every three millions that are now in circulation! Did such an idea ever before find its way into human head! But, how are we to transfer this property from hand to hand *without more money than we have now!* How are we to transfer it without more money! Why by selling for three shillings the same quantity of wheat that we before sold for five shillings: by having things at low price instead of things at high price. That is the way we are to transfer it from hand to hand, to be sure. Things must be dear or cheap in proportion to their quantity compared with the quantity of money in the country. In a just and well-regulated state of things, the quantity of money in a country will always remain nearly about the same; and the price of commodities will rise and fall in proportion as the quantity of them is scanty or abundant. But, these little-shilling philosophers have got it, somehow or other, crammed into their heads, that money ought to increase *with* the increase in the quantity of commodities; and, according to their notion, the produce of the land ought to be as dear after the next harvest as it was before. Any thing so stupid, and so openly at defiance with experience, and with nature itself, never could have found its way into the human mind, unless that mind had first been bewildered and perverted, by the paper-money tricks, and by the false prosperity arising from those tricks, of which PITT was the beginner more from his shallowness and presumption than from his knavery.

This, **PEELY**, is what you would have said upon this subject, if you had known how; but this; the folly of this sect, by no means is to serve as a cover for your own folly. What do you mean by calling upon the noble Lord and his colleagues, "to seize the earliest possible opportunity to place the foundation of all the currency on **SOME** sure and satisfactory basis?" And, **PEELY**, I have heard a man call you "*the John Kemble of the House of Commons.*" I much question whether that player man would have talked of placing a foundation on a basis. I have always thought that a foundation was a basis. You are a pretty fellow to be a "*leader*" of the House of Commons! However, if verbosity were the worst of it one might overlook that. You mean that the Ministers ought to place the currency on *some* sure and satisfactory basis; and the word *some*, it is, that will certainly drive me mad, unless you explain yourself pretty quickly. What, after having set the question at rest for ever by your famous bill which will hang about you like the body of that death described by St. PAUL, until it drag you down and sink you for ever; after setting the question at rest for ever, amidst the huzzas of the six hundred and fifty-eight, so long as thirteen years ago; after disturbing it from its rest by an act of Parliament in 1822; after bringing us to within forty-eight hours of barter in 1825; after setting the question at rest again for ever in 1826 and again 1829, you are now recommending to the Ministers to seek "*some* satisfactory basis" for the currency!

You, the great doctor on the subject, are calling upon the Ministers to tell us *what course they mean to pursue* with regard to this matter which you tell us is now in agitation! It is not of your ignorance, here, that I must complain: it is of your *impudence*. One wonders how a man who has done so much mischief connected with this subject, can dare to open his lips upon it, unless for the purpose of tendering, to the utmost of his power, atonement and compensation to his injured country.

PEEL, let me be plain with you, and tell you that the records of Parliament and of the courts of law, speak of things of far less magnitude than the bringing in and procuring to be passed your bill; but they never spoke of anything which was one ten thousandth part so injurious to the country. *The Parliament sanctioned your bill*, did it? So it did the foundation of the proceedings of the **SOUTH-SEA BUBBLERS**; but, in that sanction the bubblers found no security. At any rate it becomes you to be modest in speaking upon matters relating to the currency. You were duly warned of the mischief you were about to do to your country. Ignorance is no plea for a man who voluntarily steps into the receipt of a high salary under the king; but, you have not ignorance to plead; because you were fully forewarned of the mischief you were about to do; and if no other man have a right to be your accuser, he who gave you the warning has that right, *and I am that man!*

5. On National Faith.

"It was a matter of regret that the revenue during the last two years had suffered so much diminution; but he felt convinced that the *great sources of national prosperity were unaffected.* (Hear, hear.) Of this too he was sure, that no proposition to get rid of their difficulties inconsistent with the preservation of *the national faith* would be tolerated, even for an instant, and that *no man of honour, in any Parliament, would attempt to propose it.* (Cheers.) He was confident, too, while the sources of prosperity were unimpaired, that if any occasion arose which required a national sacrifice, that the people of England would not be found wanting for the effort. (Hear, hear.)"

PEELY, do you remember old **GEORGE THE THIRD**? If you do, you will know that year after year, while the nation was contracting its enormous debt; and that his son **GEORGE THE FOURTH**, while he was contracting debt, too, and while the nation was crying out distress from every quarter; that these kings regularly twice a year expressed their conviction, "*that the great sources*

of national prosperity were unaffected," and they, too, always concluded with the strongest exhortations to uphold national faith. You, however, have *something new here*. They were not so fortunate as to live to see the Parliament reformed; and, therefore, however well inclined, they could not express their opinion, that "no proposition contrary to national faith would be tolerated, *even for an instant*, and that *no man of honour* in any Parliament, *would attempt to propose it*." They, unhappy monarchs, had not the good luck to live in our reforming times; and the last was peculiarly unfortunate in not living long enough to have Lord GREY for his Minister. They, therefore, could not share in those *cheers* with which you were honoured by the House of all Houses upon this memorable occasion. But, now, PEEL, with regard to the fact. I see no necessity for any man to propose a getting rid of the debt. I see no reason why it ever should become a question with any man who wishes to relieve the nation of its burdens. The first duty of a representative of the people, is to watch over the safety of them and of their personal liberties. His next duty is to take care that not one farthing of money be taken from them by compulsion more than it is just and necessary for them to pay. His chief business then will be to take off those taxes which cause them to live in misery and to degrade them. It will then be for the partisans of taxation to show that the taxes are just and necessary; and, when it comes to the question of paying interest on the debt, you, the "JOHN KEMBLE of the House," will, I dare say, find it extremely easy to convince the weavers and spinners of MANCHESTER, and the toiling smiths of WARWICKSHIRE and STAFFORDSHIRE, that it is quite proper, quite *just*, that they should toil like slaves all their days to pay the interest of debts contracted by schedules A and B in the days of their fathers; nothing can be easier than for the "JOHN KEMBLE of the House" to satisfy the people of the *justice* of this; to satisfy them

that the bones and flesh and blood of their children who are now in their cradles, are the property of those of whom money was borrowed by schedules A and B. You will only have to tell them in the language of the impudent ALEXANDER BARING, that the fundholders have a MORTGAGE on all the property of the country; and, they will see, at once, that those who borrowed the money, were the *owners* of the whole country, and could have *sold* it if they liked; because, if they could not sell they could not mortgage. The fundholders having their security on the consolidated fund, you, "John Kemble of the House" as you are, would be able to show the poor labourers and chopsticks in an instant, that, to petition for the taking off of a tax is to petition for a breach of national faith; because taking off a tax diminishes the security of the fundholder. And that, thus, to do anything, no matter what, to endeavour to lighten their burdens, is what "*no man of honour*, in any Parliament, will ever attempt to propose."

PEELY, are you really fool enough to imagine, that your putting out this censure beforehand upon any one who shall propose to deduct from the interest of the debt; are you fool enough to believe, that this will have any effect upon the minds of those who shall be chosen to sit in a reformed Parliament? If you do believe this, you are a foolisher man than ever appeared upon the stage of this world, having the reputation of being in his senses. In short, you know that the proposition will be made, and you, like most other silly men in similar circumstances, are entertaining a hope that you shall be able to defeat it by this sort of forestalling. Cannot you let the reform Parliament alone. Why, let it be *elected*, at any rate, before you begin to read lectures to it. The most impatient of parsons stop till the congregation is assembled before they begin to preach to it. Let us alone, PEEL: say your prayers, if you like, about us; but, at any rate, do not preach to us before we be chosen.

6. On the Colonies.

“The noble Lord had adverted to the state of the colonies. He (Sir R. Peel) approached that part of the subject with pain, for he believed no Parliament had ever separated before, leaving *the colonies in a state so little satisfactory* to the mother country. All they knew with respect to the colonies was, that the Government did not intend to exact the obedience of the islands possessing separate legislatures to those orders in council which had been the object of so much contention. He wished, however, to know, whether the Government persisted in their intention to force the obedience of the crown colonies. Every one knew that the orders, although nominally enforced in the crown colonies, were universally disobeyed; and he put it to the noble Lord whether, under such circumstances, it would not be more consistent with the honour and dignity of the Crown, to withdraw them altogether. (Hear, hear.) While he was on this subject, he wished also to ask what reward the Government intended to bestow on the colonies that accepted the orders. The fiscal regulations had been abandoned—the discriminating duties were not to be collected; but, if he understood the noble Lord right, the mother country was to pay a portion of the civil list of the obedient colonies. Now, he put it to the noble Lord, whether, after all they had heard of the necessity of compelling the colonies to bear the expense of their own government, this was not an act of retrograding—(hear, hear),—and a departure from the avowed determination of those who were placed over that department.”

“*Very little satisfactory*,” indeed. The whole of the colonies of every description, as now managed, are a burden to the country. Every nation in the world has coffee, sugar, tea, and spices at about one half the price that we have them in ENGLAND. The colonies are merely a channel through which to convey English, Scotch, and

Irish taxes into the pockets of the aristocracy and their dependants. The colonies are all filled with their relations and their creatures. The money raised upon us, and which there would be no pretence for giving them here, is given them in the colonies. In CANADA millions have been squandered away. It is pretended that the colonies are so many outlets for English manufactured goods. I do not believe that all our colonies put together take as much of our goods as the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. The goods sent from ENGLAND to CANADA do not amount to so much in the year as the money that is sent thither, and which is first taken from us in taxes; so that we raise taxes to send to CANADA to give to the people there to buy goods with; and that we call trade and commerce! On a limited scale, and when necessary to national defence, colonies may sometimes be useful; but stretched about over the world as ours are, they are the cause of feebleness and not of strength; they are the cause of poverty and not of wealth. Managed as our colonies are, they are mere channels, just like the army, the barracks, the academies, and almost everything else; mere pretences to suck up our earnings, and to give them to the aristocracy and their dependants. This evil is to be put an end to like all the others, by refusing to give the money to uphold it; it is one great mass of monstrous abuses; and it must and will be put an end to. The mere name of *possessing territory* is not worth a straw; if the possession be not conducive to the wealth or strength of the nation, it is worth nothing; but, as in our case, it may be greatly mischievous; and the sooner a mischief is put an end to the better.

7. On Foreign Affairs.

“He could not sit down without adding a few words on the subject of our *foreign policy*. There were, at this moment, rumours of armaments for the coast of Portugal, and rumours of armaments for the Scheldt; God knew with what truth, or for what purpose. “Of course it was intended that the

"expense of these armaments should be
 "paid out of the naval estimates, be-
 "cause no Government could venture
 "to expend a large sum on an arma-
 "ment without coming down to Parlia-
 "ment and demanding a vote for that
 "purpose. He objected, however, un-
 "der any circumstances, to the course
 "which was pursued on the strength of
 "documents, which could only tend to
 "mislead the judgment with respect to
 "the question at issue. At all events,
 "he hoped the noble Lord was pre-
 "pared to say whether there was the
 "least probability that the treaty would
 "be ratified, or that Holland would
 "consent to accept the terms proposed
 "to her. He hoped, indeed, that it
 "might prove so, and *they would be*
 "*able to avert the dreadful alternative*
 "*of the horrors of war.* They had to
 "lament at that moment the existence
 "of war in another country, Portugal.
 "He was convinced that the civil war
 "which raged in that country never
 "would have commenced but for the
 "encouragement given to it by the Go-
 "vernment; and this much he might
 "add, that the endangering the peace
 "and prosperity of Portugal by a pro-
 "longed civil war, never could prove
 "conducive to the honour and interests
 "of England. With respect to Holland,
 "he could only say, that if the King
 "refused to ratify the treaty, then the
 "armaments which must follow, would
 "disturb the calculations of the noble
 "Lord, and the surplus he had calcu-
 "lated on would not be realised. Whe-
 "ther, however, the noble Lord's calcu-
 "lations were or were not realised,
 "whatever was done by this country,
 "whatever money was expended to
 "force Holland to sign the twenty-four
 "articles, would be expended in a man-
 "ner contrary to the true interests of
 "England—against the independent
 "rights of the smaller powers of Europe
 "—and, if incurred in conjunction with
 "France directed against Holland,
 "would be inconsistent with that
 "course of feeling which the wisest of
 "British statesmen had always pur-
 "sued, and which might be pregnant
 "with consequences to the peace of the

"world that no man could foresee.
 "(Cheers.)"

Oh! you could not *sit down* without
 saying a few words about our foreign
 policy; and what you said was, to be
 sure, well worth standing up for. Neither
 top nor tail can any human being make
 of it, only that the Ministers will have
 some difficulty in "being able to avert
 "the dreadful alternative of the horrors
 "of war." Indeed, why then I can give
 you comfort on this score; for I give
 you my most positive assurance that they
 have simply this choice: either to re-
 main at peace, or to *blow up the funding*
system. What I said ten years ago to
 the men of KENT, I now repeat to you;
 to wit, "That the figure of eight and
 "eight noughts at the right hand of it
 "say to the King of ENGLAND, You shall
 "never go to war again while we are in
 "existence." Since that time we have
 protested against the FRENCH entering
 SPAIN; they entered it, and our Minister
 in each House of Parliament put up
prayers that they might not succeed;
 they did succeed; they rubbed out the
 SPANISH bonds, and we took it as quietly
 as so many lambs. Since that time,
 we have seen RUSSIA overrun TURKEY,
 open the channel of CONSTANTINOPLE,
 send a fleet into the MEDITERRANEAN,
 make us come and assist her in her
 enterprise, and laugh at us when we
 began to be alarmed. Since that time,
 we have seen the AMERICANS fairly oust
 us from the Gulf of MEXICO, and forbid
 us to interfere in the affairs of SOUTH
 AMERICA, threatening us with the power
 of RUSSIA if we did. We have just seen
 the Ministers resolve to pay millions of
 our money to RUSSIA, and resolve to
 quit their places if they were not per-
 mitted to do it. All the world sees that
 it is unjust to pay it; it is given, too, at
 a time when RUSSIA is doing the most
 hateful acts ever done by any power on
 earth. But they must pay the money,
 or a war with RUSSIA. If war with
 RUSSIA, war with the UNITED STATES
 of AMERICA, or they carry on the com-
 merce of the world, while our ships are
 liable to be seized. Thus we submit to
 everything; because, with this debt, we
 cannot go to war. To go to war, im-

plies an issue of assignats; that implies a real destruction of the Debt; that implies a state of embarrassment to the aristocracy and to the whole of the state, such as our rulers dare not look in the face. This is the true secret of the payment of the money to RUSSIA. We bought a parcel of victories: we have not paid for them; and other nations will take them back again. Why it signifies nothing to talk of this matter: the words "*foreign policy*" are in our case nonsense. The question is, and it is the only question: Shall we continue to sink till we be the lowest nation in the world: or shall we shake off the millstone of debt, falsely called national?

Thus, PEEL'S-BILL PEEL, have I taken the pains to comment on your speech; not out of any respect to you; not anything other than contempt that I have for your talents and your knowledge; but because the stuff you put forth on the 27th of July, furnished an opportunity of conveying useful knowledge to my readers; and now, with that contempt with which a man like me ought to look upon a man like you, I commit these observations to my readers, being their faithful friend,

and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

ELECTION WORKS.

THERE seems to be a pretty general suspicion that the *sincere* WHIGS mean to join their opponents of schedules A and B, and to prorogue this Parliament and call it together again. For my part, I believe this to be their intention; and what is further, I believe that they are now negotiating with the leaders of the BIRMINGHAM UNION, to get them to aid them in this proceeding. I shall be glad to find that I have formed a wrong opinion upon this matter; but I have generally viewed the intentions of these parties with a very suspicious eye; and I am

sorry to say, that I have hardly ever been wrong as to the result. PEEL certainly has thrown out the *feeler*. I have not the smallest doubt that he talked of "*a short session in October or November,*" in consequence of a previous agreement with the Ministers. I think this is certain; because the thing was of vast importance, and Ministers said not a word upon the subject; but left the *feeler* to operate in its own way; and I should not at all wonder to see their newspapers begin to throw out the *feeler* too. The people, however, are upon the sharp look-out. All watching them as a terrier watches a nasty stinking devouring beast of a rat, that is gorged with the meat or the corn that he has purloined. *Apropos* of rats! My readers will remember, that, in the early part of the second session of 1830, that is to say, the session when the people of LONDON actually hunted WELLINGTON out of his post, and when there was a great agitation as to what should be done, there was an article in the *Register*, in which the breaking up of the system was compared to a RAT-HUNT. It was a commentary on a debate in the House of Commons, during which debate great alarm had been expressed at the turbulence of those who seemed bent upon having a change of some sort. If I had the book at hand, I would republish the article here. It excited *universal attention* and unbounded admiration amongst all the COBBETTITES in the kingdom. The *Quarterly Review* quoted it as a specimen of beautiful and powerful writing; but at the same time as an instance of malignity of heart not to be matched. It ran through all the country newspapers; through the IRISH and AMERICAN newspapers; and was universally regarded as the best passage

ever written by me. Now the truth is, that I did not write it at all; that it was in a part of the *Register* which it was not necessary for me to look at; that it was written by my son JOHN; and that I never even saw it until so many people bothered me about it, and all so laughed when they mentioned it, that I was induced to turn back to it and read it.

This celebrated article, after describing, in a most inimitable manner, the manner in which rats, when hunted in a barn, get at last, and lie close as stones under a bundle of straw, concludes by saying, "THE STRAW IS BEING REMOVED!" These very words apply to the present state of things. Schedules A and B have got under the last pitch of straw! Lord GREY has brought them there at any rate. There they lie close as if they were dead, nothing seems capable of moving them. The straw must be *lifted, however*; and, as to PEEL'S-BILL PEEL'S idea of their being permitted to come *under the straw again for a little while*, we shall see how that will be. Oh no: they have decreed their own ejection: they have passed a law to amend the representation; and, upon what ground in God's name, are they to separate and *to meet again*, when there are all the provisions made for electing men to fill the seats?

In the meanwhile the country is pretty well agitated with canvassings and other movements preparatory to an election, the people seeming not to have the smallest idea of a reassemblment of schedules A and B. I shall here notice and insert papers relating to what is going on in several places, beginning with the borough of NEWPORT, in the ISLE OF WIGHT, relative to which I here insert a paper, published by a committee of electors of that town relative to the resignation or rather retreat of TORRENS, the famous conductor of the *Globe*, which ought to be called the ball of horse manure. After I have inserted this paper, I shall make some remarks upon it.

"TO THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT ELECTORS OF NEWPORT.—The committee for securing the freedom and independence of the new borough of Newport, beg to lay before the electors the address of Colonel Torrens, in which he explains his reasons for being compelled to withdraw from being a candidate for the borough at the next general election."

To the Free and Independent Electors of the Borough of Newport.

GENTLEMEN,—With mingled feelings of gratitude and of regret, I solicit permission to withdraw from being a candidate for the honour of representing your emancipated borough in the reformed Parliament.

You invited and received me in a manner most flattering and encouraging, you gave me pledges of support from two-thirds of the electors, and you thus secured my triumph before the contest had commenced. Under these circumstances, you are entitled to demand, in terms the most defined and unequivocal, the reasons which induce me to cease to be your candidate.

When I first appeared amongst you, I stated that I had previously presented myself at BOLTON, that I expected a requisition from a majority of the voters to offer myself as a candidate for the representation of that important town; and that my acceptance of the invitation for Newport must be contingent upon that event. The requisition from Bolton was accidentally delayed, and I was, therefore, led to conclude, that I was at liberty to declare myself for Newport. In this I was mistaken; my friends at Bolton held me to my promise; instead of relaxing, they redoubled their exertions in my favour; they sent me pledges from three-fourths of the electors; and they demanded, that, as they had more than fulfilled their engagement to me, I should perform my compact with them, and remain as a candidate for Bolton. In these embarrassing circumstances, the point of honour prescribed adherence to the first engagement.

The electors and inhabitants of Newport have conferred favours upon me which it would be baseness ever to forget; though no longer your candidate, I owe you true allegiance. The party of *real reformers* has so decided a majority in your borough, and is so firmly united under the advice of a committee not surpassed in all England for intelligence and disinterested zeal, that there is a certainty that you will obtain a candidate in my stead without injury to your cause. But should any difficulty or delay arise (which I cannot anticipate), and should you conceive that my services may be useful in sustaining your independence, in that case command me and I will obey.

With feelings of gratitude and of admiration which cannot pass away, I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your still faithful and devoted servant,
R. TORRENS.

Manchester, July 21, 1832.

"The Committee beg to announce, that a gentleman of *highly liberal and independent principles*, W. H. ORD, Esq. of Berkeley-Square, now strenuously labouring to sustain the reform interest, by actively canvassing the county of Northumberland for his father, W. ORD, Esq. member for Morpeth, in opposition to the Duke of Northumberland, will shortly present himself to the electors of Newport, to solicit their suffrages.

"A requisition to W. H. ORD, Esq. to request him to offer himself as a candidate for the new borough of Newport, is now lying for signature at the Green Dragon Hotel. The friends of independence of the borough are requested immediately to attach their names.

"By Order of the Committee,
"ABRAHAM CLARKE,
"Chairman.

"Green Dragon Hotel, July 25, 1832."

My readers will remember, that, on the 7th of July, I published an address to the people of BOLTON, showing that this TORRENS, while living in London and conducting a newspaper, was a Brevet Colonel of Marines on full pay, represented to be *stationed at CHATHAM*, and there having, at our expense, besides his pay, quarters, coals, candles, and servants. I caused to be printed on a separate piece of paper, two thousand copies of that address, nineteen hundred of which I sent down to BOLTON by the coach. TORRENS, in order to have a *corps de réserve*, had, by some means or other got some persons at NEWPORT in the ISLE OF WIGHT to invite him to be a candidate there, as a *radical*, in opposition to the influence of the old corporation. Therefore, expecting to meet some friends from the ISLE OF WIGHT at the chopstick festival at SUTTON SCOTNEY, I took a hundred of the addresses to the people of BOLTON

down to SUTTON SCOTNEY, and gave them to ISLE OF WIGHT friends to carry and distribute at NEWPORT.

I was afterwards at NEWPORT myself; but I forbore to mention TORRENS in my lecture, lest I should seem to side with the corporation against the radicals of the place. The addresses went to NEWPORT on the 7th or 8th of July. I was at NEWPORT on the 17th of July; and on the 21st of July, you see TORRENS, being then apparently at MANCHESTER, beats the retreat. You see his pretence. It is, doubtless, as false as any part of his most false and villainous newspaper; for if it were true, it would reflect eternal disgrace on the town of BOLTON, it being manifest that a schedule A and B parliament would be a thousand times better than that of a parliament consisting of men receiving full pay as stationed at CHATHAM while they are conducting government newspapers in LONDON. So much for TORRENS, who, if the radicals of NEWPORT had persevered with him, would certainly have thrown the whole borough back into the hands of the old corporation; for there were a great many men who detested the corporation and its influence, who would not have voted at all rather than have voted for TORRENS. Who this W. H. ORD is, I do not know. I cannot see why a couple of members cannot be found in the ISLE OF WIGHT itself. We have been brought to our present degraded state by *gentlemen legislators*. Why not *try* men of another sort? There is this comfort in the case at any rate, that no sort of men can do worse for us than these *gentlemen legislators* have done. At any rate if this Mr. ORD will not pledge himself to the abolition of the tithes, and the repeal of the hop and malt tax, and to a repeal of the Corn Bill, I trust that the people of Newport will not suffer themselves to be disgraced by the electing of him. If he be ready to pledge himself, I should still like a farmer or a tradesman better; but, if he give the pledges, and in a *very distinct manner*, to abolish the tithes and repeal the malt and hop and soap tax, and

the Corn Bill; and if he be not, like TORRENS, a man whose very life depends upon the receipt of taxes, then, there may be no solid objection to him; and, at any rate, to have gotten rid of TORRENS is a positive good, as much as getting rid of the CHOLERA MORBUS. TORRENS is a political CHOLERA MORBUS: he is waster of the body: he will soon scour it out clean I will warrant him, if he once gets into it. He comes before the people of BOLTON, and as good as tells them that if they do not elect him he shall be starved. He does not dare pledge himself to the *taking-off* of taxes: he is ready to pledge himself to *shift them from one man to another!* just as if, if he lay them all upon the shoulders of the masters, they will not know how to shift them from their own shoulders to those of the men. In short, if he do anything to relieve the people of BOLTON, he must vote against the very measures on which he lives and has his being. The taxes are the food in his body and the breath in his nostrils: they are the air of which he breathes, and without them he dies; this is a pretty representative for the toiling, slaving and burdened people of BOLTON, who, again I say, if they take this *refuse of the Isle of Wight*, ought to continue to be loaded to the last moment of their lives.

BOROUGH OF LAMBETH.

Every effort is making by both the factions to wheedle, cajole, and deceive the metropolitan boroughs. They are everywhere nominating their creatures: everywhere endeavouring to avoid pledges. In the borough of LAMBETH they have been particularly active. A very sensible man, a *tradesman*, has put forth an address to the people of LAMBETH upon this subject, which address ought to be read by every elector in the kingdom. I never heard of the author of it before; but, when I return to LONDON I should be very glad to confer with him; if he will write to me and appoint a time for the purpose. There is plenty of time to counteract all the machinations of the united factions; and

we must do it too, or we shall find great difficulty in effecting much good in a short time; and yet, if that be not done, confusion will come. I will here insert the address of this gentleman, whose name is ARTHUR ROSE, and who is a colour and oil-merchant at NEWINGTON, in SURREY. This address is all good sense; it is that which one would expect from a man of good sense; having the good of the country really at heart. I strongly recommend it to the attention not only of the electors of the kingdom, but of every body else. As a piece of writing it is excellent. Let the "*education of the country*," as the impudent CASTLE-REAGH called schedules A and B; let the whole of that stupid and insolent tribe club their talents, and see if they can produce anything equal to this as a piece of composition merely. With this preface I insert this paper, begging the author to accept of my thanks for it.

"TO THE ELECTORS OF THE NEW BO-
"ROUGH OF LAMBETH.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I have anxiously waited since the English Reform Bill received the royal assent, in the hope of seeing candidates present themselves for your suffrages, whose avowed principles should be a guarantee, that, as regarded you, that measure should not have been enacted in vain.

"Gentlemen, it is peculiarly incumbent on you, to exercise the important trust with which you are now invested, in such a manner as to set an example to the whole kingdom. If you suffer yourselves to be made, as it is obviously intended to make you, tools for the aggrandisement of either of the factions, you will be guilty of a gross dereliction of the duty you owe to the yet unrepresented part of your countrymen. It would fix an indelible stain upon the borough of Lambeth, if the electors were to make choice of a placeman to be their representative in the first reformed Parliament; from which all placemen must be excluded, agreeably to the Act of Settlement, or the Re-

“ form Bill will become a nullity. As
 “ to the circumstance of a man voting
 “ for the ‘ bill,’ it ought not, without
 “ other recommendations, to weigh with
 “ you as a feather; for it must be
 “ known to you all, that many of those
 “ who voted for the bill were, and are,
 “ anti-reformers in their hearts, and
 “ have voted for many of the measures
 “ most hostile to the liberties of the
 “ people. In short, it should be your
 “ object, as it would be that of all the
 “ newly-enfranchised boroughs in par-
 “ ticular, to choose men who are wholly
 “ unconnected with, and uncontami-
 “ nated by, the two factions; ‘ between
 “ ‘ whom (as the Historian observes)
 “ ‘ this nation has been crucified.’

“ Gentlemen, it is evident to every
 “ man of the least discernment, that
 “ the approaching struggle is intended
 “ to be a struggle between the two fac-
 “ tions, and that the real interests of
 “ the people are to be sacrificed, as
 “ heretofore, to the gratification of their
 “ ambition, and their inordinate rapa-
 “ city. We know that the factions
 “ hate each other cordially; but it is
 “ merely as rivals for power and emo-
 “ lument: and they both know that
 “ there would be nothing to contend for,
 “ if the people obtained their rights.
 “ Hence the objections on the part of
 “ both factions to giving pledges: they
 “ know that the people are now almost
 “ unanimous as to the measures neces-
 “ sary for their relief; they know that
 “ the adoption of those measures would
 “ speedily reduce both factions to their
 “ proper level; and, therefore, they
 “ will join most cordially in endeavour-
 “ ing to deprive the people of the bene-
 “ fits which they were promised from
 “ the passing of the Reform Bill. Ne-
 “ vertheless, if those who are now in-
 “ vested with the elective franchise
 “ shall honestly and resolutely do their
 “ duty, a sufficient number of members
 “ will be returned to baffle all the at-
 “ tempts of the factions to continue
 “ the system under which we have so
 “ long groaned; and I trust we shall
 “ not have to endure the mortification
 “ of seeing the electors of Lambeth sur-
 “ passed by any other body of electors,

“ in a knowledge of their rights, or in
 “ resolution to defend them.

“ Gentlemen, I am pretty certain that
 “ not one of the gentlemen whose
 “ names have been announced as can-
 “ didates for your suffrages, will openly
 “ pledge himself to do the things
 “ which you all know are necessary to
 “ be done. Heretofore there has been
 “ no backwardness on the part of can-
 “ didates to give pledges. But what
 “ were the pledges? To uphold the
 “ dignity and splendour of the throne:
 “ to maintain the honour and inde-
 “ pendence of the country, by support-
 “ ing ‘ just and necessary wars: and to
 “ ‘ uphold the constitution in church
 “ ‘ and state.’ We have now found
 “ out that the ‘ splendour of the throne’
 “ meant the splendour of the borough-
 “ mongers; that the ‘ wars’ were carried
 “ on against the people of France to
 “ prevent them from setting before us
 “ a successful example of ‘ democratic
 “ encroachment;’ and, that the uphold-
 “ ing the constitution in church and
 “ state, meant the upholding of taxes
 “ and tithes, for the sole benefit of the
 “ boroughmongers and their creatures.
 “ Now, gentlemen, will any one of the
 “ candidates for your suffrages pledge
 “ himself to use his best endeavours to
 “ obtain for you relief from these taxes
 “ and tithes? If he will not, and, in-
 “ deed, if he do not pledge himself
 “ (without being asked), and in the
 “ most explicit manner, too, I beseech
 “ you to reject him, to look upon him
 “ as one who seeks rather to aggrandise
 “ himself than to benefit you.

“ Gentlemen, I shall, perhaps, be ac-
 “ cused of wishing to sow discord
 “ among you; and of endeavouring to
 “ injure the present Ministers, by dis-
 “ crediting those who profess to be
 “ their supporters. I assure you I de-
 “ sire to do no such thing; on the
 “ contrary, I am pursuing the very
 “ course (if my endeavours produce any
 “ effect) which is calculated to keep
 “ them in power: for, most assuredly,
 “ their wily opponents will speedily
 “ oust them from their places, unless
 “ they be backed by the people, as they
 “ have hitherto been, and not left to

“pursue their own vacillating and tem-
 “porising course. But, it may be said,
 “gratitude for what they have done,
 “should induce us to place confidence
 “in the Ministers, as well as in their
 “partisans! Gratitude! gratitude is
 “on the other side. If the people had
 “looked tamely on, as it is now recom-
 “mended to them to do, the Ministers
 “would have been turned out, and our
 “‘POLIGNAC’ would have been at the
 “head of a military Government; and
 “what would THEN have been the con-
 “dition of Lord Grey and his col-
 “leagues? We owe the Whigs just as
 “much gratitude as the Catholics owe
 “the Duke for the measure of Emanci-
 “pation; which he, candid man as he
 “is, declared he never would have in-
 “troduced if he could have avoided it.

“Gentlemen, we have ample proof in
 “the experience of the last thirty years,
 “that a talent for public speaking, of
 “the very first order, is perfectly com-
 “patible with a total absence of sound
 “judgment, and of all the other quali-
 “ties and acquirements necessary to
 “form the character of a statesman, or
 “a useful member of Parliament. It is
 “not necessary for me to particularise,
 “examples in abundance will occur to
 “your minds. Plain sense, in plain
 “language (very rare in Parliament at
 “present), with a competent know-
 “ledge of the subject proposed, will be
 “found much more conducive to the
 “public good, than those ‘stale, flat,
 “and unprofitable’ harangues which
 “occupy five or six hours in the delivery;
 “and are delivered at those hours of
 “the night, during which, as Fielding
 “says, ‘honest watchmen are fast
 “asleep.’

“Gentlemen, if a candidate should
 “present himself for your choice, who
 “was directly or indirectly connected
 “with any of those disgraceful schemes,
 “called ‘Bubble Companies,’ which
 “left an indelible stain upon the cha-
 “racters of many men theretofore con-
 “sidered as respectable. If any can-
 “didate should present himself, who
 “has been so connected, and who
 “screened himself from the conse-
 “quences by his ‘privilege of Parlia-

“ment,’ throwing the burden upon
 “others, and such would, I am sure, be
 “rejected with scorn. But would you
 “be less culpable in choosing a Mi-
 “nister of State, who has always been
 “connected with the Tories in their
 “worst measures, and is, even now, act-
 “ing more like a partisan of the Tories,
 “than a member of a reforming Govern-
 “ment? Look at the state of our
 “foreign affairs! Behold the farce in
 “which we have been engaged with
 “regard to Belgium and Holland; and
 “then ask yourselves, whether our
 “Foreign Secretary has not quite enough
 “to do, without being encumbered
 “with the care of the interest of the
 “borough of Lambeth? As to the
 “candidate who rests his pretensions
 “upon the knowledge acquired by him
 “in his capacity of magistrate, I think
 “it unnecessary to say one word more
 “than this, that if he had no better
 “ground for claiming your votes, he
 “would have acted more discreetly by
 “leaving it to his friends to recommend
 “him; and to the good nature of the
 “electors to take his merits for granted.
 “When, before, did we ever hear of a
 “man offering himself as a candidate
 “for a situation upon such a ground?

“Gentlemen, I am of opinion that it
 “is the bounden duty of the electors to
 “make known beforehand, most ex-
 “plicitly, the grounds on which alone
 “they will give their votes to any can-
 “didate; and I take the liberty of sug-
 “gesting, for your consideration, a few
 “of the pledges which candidates
 “should be required to give in this great
 “crisis of our country’s fate:—

“1st. To endeavour to obtain the
 “immediate abolition of all sinecures,
 “and of all pensions not merited by
 “real services.

“2d. To vote for the abolition of the
 “malt and soap duties, and stamp and
 “assessed taxes.

“3d. To vote for a repeal of the
 “corn laws, which laws would become
 “unnecessary by the taking off of the
 “taxes and tithes.

“4th. To vote for the abolition of
 “tithes, and the appropriation of all
 “church property to public uses.

" 5th. To vote for the exclusion of the clergy from the House of Lords, and from all interference in secular affairs.

" 6th. To endeavour to obtain the abolition of the law of primogeniture.

" 7th. To vote for triennial Parliaments and election by ballot.

" 8th. To vote for disbanding the standing army, and for the restoration of the old constitutional force, the Militia.

" 9th. Above all things, the candidate should pledge himself to surrender his trust into the hands of his constituents, whenever he shall find himself unable to act up to their instructions.

" Gentlemen, if your sentiments accord with mine, it will give me great pleasure to see you act in conformity with them; and in case of no other candidate appearing, who will pledge himself to use his best endeavours to accomplish your wishes, I will offer myself to your notice on the day of election, assuring you, that if you honour me with your confidence, no exertions on my part shall be wanting to justify your choice.

" I am, gentlemen,

" Your obedient servant,

" ARTHUR ROSE,

" Colour and oil-merchant, No. 65, Trinity-square, Newington, Surrey.

" July 26th, 1832."

BOROUGH OF MARY-LE-BONE.

Here "the education" appears to be making a grand push. LITTLE PORTMAN and "COLONEL JONES," a well-known tool of the WHIGS, are chosen to make a stand *against pledges*. The people of MARY-LE-BONE consist a good deal of tradesmen, dependent on the aristocracy. They live, like the people of WESTMINSTER, on the incomes of the tax-eaters. All the western part of LONDON consists of a mass of consumers of the fruits of labour; but, still I believe there is spirit enough left in the people to make them do their duty upon this occasion. They ought to choose *two tradesmen*; but, at any rate, they ought to reject any man who will

not pledge himself to an abolition of the tithes and a repeal of the malt, hop, and soap tax, and the corn bill. LITTLE PORTMAN has played a curious sort of game in DORSETSHIRE; and he played a still more curious game with the *friendly societies*, all of whom who had sense, broke up the societies and divided the money upon the very appearance of his bill. LITTLE PORTMAN seems to be an old GEORGE ROSE number two, and to have a scheme for getting poor men bound to the system by means of their savings. LITTLE PORTMAN will fail in all his schemes; but his intentions are the same as if he succeeded. The people of MARY-LE-BONE ought to reject him, unless he will distinctly pledge himself to the things before mentioned.

BOROUGH OF BATH.

There seems to be a great stir in this city. A HOBHOUSE, brother of LITTLE SANCHO, is, it appears, a candidate at Bath. The *impudence* of these people surpasses any thing that the world ever witnessed before. I do not know what place, what channel of public money, if any, this fellow has been in; but I know that he was fed on pap bought with the public money. I know that his father, first as chairman in the ways and means in the house of schedules A and B, and afterwards as chairman of the Commissioners of the NABOB of ARCOT'S debts, was receiving about two thousand a year of the public money from the year 1801 to the day of his death, which happened last year; that is to say, about *sixty thousand pounds* of principal money, besides the interest, which in such a case is always to be reckoned, and which must be reckoned, to be sure, *when the nation comes to settle accounts with the parties or with their heirs*; and, when the nation does that, it will soon find who has got the eight hundred millions, of which the DEBT consists! I know that death has scarcely put an end to the father's receiving public money before the eldest son jumped into the Secretary of War-ship; as if the baronetcy and the right

to receive public money descended together. I know that the wife of this eldest son was on the pension list so long ago as the year 1808 for a *hundred pounds* a year, and that she had her pension to the day of her marriage, if she have it not still. Here are *twenty-four hundred pounds* of principal money, part of which bears interest from twenty-four years ago. I know that the uncle of this BATH HOBHOUSE was Under-Secretary of State to SIDMOUTH, during the terrible years from 1812 or thereabouts, to the year 1823 or 4, when I believe he was transferred to some place of great emolument in India. The father of this HOBHOUSE was made a baronet by ADDINGTON about twenty-seven years ago; and, here is a family created by and made up of public money.

I know nothing of this fellow, who has had the impudence to offer himself to the electors of BATH, except that which I learn from a paper printed by his committee at BATH, from which I learn that he made a speech there at the FREEMASONS'-HALL, on Monday, the 2d of July; that pledges were put to him; and that he shuffled out of them all, even of a pledge to vote for the repeal of the *Septennial Bill*! He was tried upon the subject of tithes in particular; and he shuffled out of the pledge. In short he would take no pledge, and departed under a very general cry of "*He will not do for us.*" He appears to be a great fool; for he talked during his speech of a bishop, who, on dying, left three hundred thousand pounds which he had saved out of his see. Mr. CRISP put the pledges to him one by one; and he appears to have been sadly annoyed. According to all appearance, it seems impossible that this creature can be member for BATH, where the following address from the POLITICAL UNION was published on the 10th of July.

"PLEDGES or PERFIDY! *Real Reform or Confusion!*—*Friends and Fellow Citizens!* Learn to do your first duty as electors, for if the system of requiring SPECIFIC PLEDGES be generally adopted, every thing will go well; but if no such pledges be

required, the next Parliament will occasion *more dissatisfaction*, and become *more unpopular* with the great body of the people, than any Boroughmonger Parliament that has ever assembled within the walls of St. STEPHEN'S. In the mean time you are earnestly requested not to promise or pledge your votes, till all the candidates are seen and heard."

This is very sensible advice: it ought to be attended to by every body of electors. Nothing can be more true than that we are now to have *pledges or perfidy; real reform or confusion*; and that if the pledges be not required, the next Parliament will occasion more dissatisfaction and become more unpopular than any boroughmonger Parliament that has ever assembled within the walls of St. STEPHEN'S. It seems that the people of BATH *want a candidate*, want a man. This is a very general want: it seems to be experienced almost everywhere. My opinion is, that men should offer themselves, not for particular places but generally; should advertise in the newspapers that they are ready to serve and ready to give the LONDON pledges. This is what ought to be done. The electors on their part should refrain from giving any promise at all with regard to their votes until they find a candidate that will take the pledges at any rate.

BUNGAY IN SUFFOLK.

I have received a very interesting account of the reform festival at Bungay. It appears that a hundred and forty-four pounds were collected for the purpose of giving an entertainment to the poorer part of the inhabitants of BUNGAY. A great number of tables were placed in the broad street of that town; and the entertainment appears to have been conducted in the finest possible manner.

At numerous other places the same thing has been done, though not in so grand a style; and now the question is, Is all this rejoicing to end in nothing? for, in nothing it will end, or in general confusion, unless the people insist upon

pledges. At the reform festival at NORWICH, there was a procession, and a flag was carried in the procession having painted on it, "*The clerical magistrate*;" the sight of which seems to have stirred the blood of the parsons in that county. I dare say the parson SLAPP can find matter now full as interesting to him as his correspondence with the Marquis of BLANDFORD about me. I thank my correspondent at Norwich for sending me a copy of the painting on this banner, which copy I shall leave for the amusement of the people of this village of FIRLE.

ALDERMEN'S ALDERMAN.

What is this that I read in the newspapers? That HUGHES HUGHES *has given up his gown!* What! given up his gown! and is no compensation, no *atonement* to be made by the COURT of ALDERMEN to Mr. ALDERMAN SCALES and the people of PORTOKEN WARD! Are the people of that WARD to have *another election* now, and is this impudent COURT of ALDERMEN again to refuse to swear in the man they may choose? If a reformed Parliament suffer this corporation to exist unaltered, it will be the most corrupt body that ever assembled under the roof of St. STEPHEN'S. What! Mr. SCALES put to an expense of *a thousand pounds*, in order to make HUGHES HUGHES show by what authority he filled the office of alderman; the judges suffering HUGHES HUGHES to put off his answer until after Trinity Term was ended; and then HUGHES HUGHES give no answer at all but throw up his gown; and is there to be no *atonement* to Mr. SCALES and the people of PORTOKEN WARD? Is this Court of Aldermen still to possess the power of preventing the people of the several wards from having aldermen of their own choosing? If a reformed Parliament suffer this, a curse, shall I say, light on the reformed Parliament.

Here is one of the monstrous evils of the country. Local laws are more oppressive than the general laws. The severest of our tyrannies are those which

proceed from the local powers given by acts of parliament. Here this Court or Aldermen have violated the charter of the CITY; they have practically abrogated it, and there must be a complete revision of the laws and of every thing relating to the government of that great city. The representation of the people in Parliament wants to be amended; but mass of abuse as it was; usurpation as it was; ruinous as its measures necessarily were, it was not half so great an abuse, and its measures were not half so ruinous as those of this debased and detestable corporation, which, from one act of despotism to another, have at last arrived at that daring pitch of profligacy, to treat an election duly made by the people of a ward as being of no more account than the rattling of the wheels of the hackney-coaches. So impudent a set of petty despots never were assembled together in this whole world before; and to put an end to their despotism, will be one of the first duties of a reformed Parliament.

Lewes, 31st July, 1832.

Since writing the above I have returned to head-quarters, where I have found, to my great comfort, the illuminating columns of the *Chronicle* or yesterday and to-day; blessed turnpike-roads and stage coaches, that so quickly caused to dart upon us these all-illuminating rays! In plain English, these *Chronicles* have brought me the following two articles, the subject matter or which will furnish, I should think, very good materials for a play, to be called *The Devil among the Aldermen*. I am the more anxious to insert these articles, as, in my above observations, I have rather done injustice to persons, to do injustice to whom wilfully, I am, I hope, the last man in the world; namely, *my lords the judges*, who, as I thought, had not been so quick in their movements with regard to HUGHES HUGHES, as I thought they ought to have been. Begging pardon for having for one moment entertained a thought of anything wrong having been done by my lords, I now insert the two articles to which I have alluded; for my

readers will perceive with great pleasure that the Aldermen's Alderman HUGHES HUGHES, Esq. M. P., and lately HEWIT the Attorney at CLAPHAM, has been OUSTED by my lords.

44, Aldgate, July 27, 1832.

SIR—As the Lord Mayor is indisposed and out of town, and most likely will be so for some weeks; and as no Court of Aldermen is to take place until September, I shall be glad to know how these city Solons will deal with the following law made by them in 1812, and in force at this time:—

“ Hunter, Mayor.

“ At a Court of Common Council held in the Chamber of Guildhall, in the City of London, on Friday, the 17th day of April 1812, it was enacted as follows, amongst several other clauses:—‘ And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that upon any vacancy by death, or resignation of any person being an Alderman of this city, the Lord Mayor of the said city for the time being shall, within eight days next after such death or resignation (Sundays excepted) cause a Wardmote to be duly summoned and held, for the election of a fit and able person to be Alderman of such Ward or Wards respectively where such vacancy shall happen, and returning such person so elected to the said Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the said city.

(Signed) ‘ WOODTHORPE.’ ”

Now, what say these Corporators, and amongst others, I am told, this Woodthorpe himself—that Hughes Hughes is proved in law never to have been legally appointed an Alderman, and consequently cannot resign, and consequently no new election need take place, because no vacancy has occurred, and because, as Hughes Hughes was not a legal Alderman, he cannot perform a legal act, and cannot legally resign. This town clerk, Woodthorpe, is an LL.D., and if his fellow-citizens do not give him a further title, I am sure he richly deserves it.

Such is the state of reasoning in the heads of my opponents in the city of London. Is it at all surprising that they are become contemptible in the estimation of all honest and reasonable men?

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
MICHAEL SCALES.

44, Aldgate, July 30, 1832.

SIR,—As the corporators of London still adhere to their tool Hughes Hughes with the pertinacity of a barnacle to an oak plank, and declare they will not accept of his resignation, as he was appointed an alderman for life, and “ therefore cannot resign,” such being the law according to that round and weighty authority in the city, Dr. Harry Woodthorpe, LL.D., I shall feel obliged by your inserting the law of the Court of King's Bench sent herewith, it being an exact copy of the judg-

ment obtained by me against Hughes. Whether these city law-givers will please to obey the judgment of the Court of King's Bench, is more than I can tell; but this I do know—they will disobey it at their peril.

Your insertion of the above, with the copy of the judgment annexed, will much oblige,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
MICHAEL SCALES.

“ 2d William 4th, 1832.

“ AS YET OF EASTER TERM.—LUSHINGTON.

“ Judgment is signed for our Lord the King, against the defendant, of Trinity Term, in the second year of the reign of King William the Fourth, for want of a plea.

“ London: An entry of an appearance for William Hughes Hughes, late of the city of London, Esq., to an information, in nature of a *quo warranto*, to show by what authority he claims to be an alderman of the city of London.—LET HIM BE OUSTED.”

To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

Guildhall, July 30, 1832.

SIR,—Having seen, in the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, a letter dated the 27th inst., signed “ Michael Scales,” in which my name is introduced as having made the observations therein stated relative to the alderman of the Ward of Portsoken, I feel it incumbent upon me, however desirous I may be not unnecessarily to intrude my name upon the public, to declare that I have never made any such absurd and ridiculous observations.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
HENRY WOODTHORPE.

POLITICAL UNIONS.

WITH great pleasure I lay before my readers an elaborate DECLARATION of the BRENTFORD POLITICAL UNION; and I defy the whole of the six hundred and fifty-eight to produce a man amongst them, from whom a piece of writing like this has ever come. I wish I could cause this paper to be read by every man in the kingdom. Here the reasons for upholding the POLITICAL UNIONS are ably set forth; and so clear and so strong are the reasons which are here given in support of the maintenance of these UNIONS until things be settled, that I defy any man in the world to produce reasons in confutation.

DECLARATION OF THE BRENTFORD POLITICAL UNION.

“Unite, Persevere, and be Free.”

AT this memorable era of national triumph and political regeneration, the *Council of the Brentford Political Union* think it a duty incumbent upon them, to lay their future views and opinions open to the animadversion of a discerning people; in order to supersede any secrecy of intention which might be attributed to them by the unthinking and prejudiced or by the denunciator and heartless opposer of the renovated charter of our liberties, and the natural benefits which are calculated to spring therefrom. The mountains rejoice in freedom's cause; and the valleys burst with the sacred hymn of liberty. The earth we tread, and the air we breathe, seem electrified with the movements of a mighty nation. Union has saved us from convulsion, and accomplished what the brightest pages of history cannot rival.

Actuated by these feelings, the *Council of the Brentford Political Union*, in drawing up this, the second declaration of the body, of which they constitute the temporary organ, think they cannot better calculate and advance the object they have in view, than by proceeding after the following method: First, to describe the political circumstances which at once cause and justify the farther extension of the labours of this Union;—next, to endeavour to point out clearly and explicitly some of the principal abuses and corruptions of church and state, which require to be redressed and eradicated, before the people can settle down calmly, or have any confidence in the blessings which all good men anticipate from this great measure. And, lastly, to produce some reasons why Political Unions should be co-existent, with the unredressed and acknowledged grievances of the community. Should we not succeed, through weakness of argument, or mystification of language, in convincing the unconvinced, or in giving activity to the inactive, yet we humbly conceive our opinions and views will meet the cordial acquiescence of the great mass of our fellow-countrymen.

When we first called this Political Union into existence, under the auspices of a patriotic King, and universally approved administration, in order to assist in supporting them against a faction of unprecedented extortioners, tyrants, and hypocrites, we could contemplate no reason why our labours should not have terminated with the full accomplishment of the Bill of Parliamentary Reform, introduced to his Majesty's Government by Lord John Russell;—but circumstances have arisen, subsequently, seriously alarming to the disinterested policy and united movements of our constitutional rulers, in handling the appalling difficulties which surround the vital

interests of this afflicted country. We cannot now flatter ourselves with a certainty of that peaceful magnanimity and mutual forbearance which ought to animate the councillors of the realm, at this critical period of redress, concession, and melioration. What, we would ask, but the best feelings of human nature, united in knowledge and inclination, can wrestle triumphantly with the deranged state of the finances, and the ruinous involvement of the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of the kingdom! We regret sincerely, as every lover of peace and good order must, that we cannot retire from the scene of popular excitation, under the present circumstances, without compromising our principles, and despising the ordeal of public opinion. Our inertness at this moment might endanger the best fruits of our previous exertions. Our dissolution on the eve of the most popular election the British annals may ever have to boast of, would militate against freedom, and give back to the enemy the best portion of the conquest. The boroughmongers are stronger, even in their defeat, and more inveterate even in their imbecility, than the general opinion of the reformers ever calculated. The House of Lords is unchanged in principle and character; and the *highest power* is wrapped up in unfathomable mystery: what, then, might avail the decisions of the most patriotic House of Commons, without the strenuous and combined support of the people? While we continue united, we can laugh at the menaces of the oligarchs with impunity, and curb their despotic career, without any extraordinary efforts; but let England be once divided into factions, no matter of what grade or stamp, and, like the unfortunate but high-minded people of France, carnage and bloodshed will glut the appetite of the oppressor, till property and freedom fall a wreck with the constitution. Their plans of reaction and convulsion are concocting in the secret hells of tyranny, superstition, and bigotry. They would move mountains in their cause, should bribery and corruption find a sufficiency of tools in existence. We have certainly already accomplished the most glorious triumph that truth and justice ever obtained over falsehood, fraud, and oppression; but we must not be shorn of our locks, like Sampson, till we strip the Philistines of their blood-stained trappings, and chase them into the cave of obscurity, there to ruminate amidst their own impenetrable darkness.

Let us now look around us and picture to the mind's eye the real state of the country. We see men of moderate affluence, obliged to curtail their pleasures and comforts at home; or go on the continent, where the necessities of life bear no comparison in point of value. We behold the small farmer sinking into the labourer; and the natural peasant encumbering the parish, or wandering about in destitution and despair. We see the manufacturer,

possessed of indefatigable skill and perseverance, and, assisted by the power of unrivalled machinery, struggling to compete with the foreign market, by pressing the labourer under him to the very earth, and even then, in many instances, gradually sacrificing a portion of his capital. We behold the mechanic and the artisan suffering, if possible, more than any other class of the community, not so much from the low scale of their wages, as from the general scarcity of employment, and the high price of provision and raiment. We see the vigilant shop-keeper and tradesman staggering under high rents, oppressive taxes, and a frightfully increasing weight of poor-rate, while their profits are diminishing, and their customers are being subdivided. We behold the merchant harassed by the general pressure of the times, and overbalanced by anti-national monopolies of a monstrous growth. We see the land-owner and the stock-holder embarked in a crazy ship, on a troubled and dangerous sea, without compass, or helm, or the prospect of a haven! Seeing all these things! and having seen them advancing with undeviating deterioration, in the midst of the profound peace of the borough-mongers, after their *glorious war against revolutionary principles, which they purchased at the expense of fifteen hundred millions of money*; the whole of which has been either taken out of the pockets of the people, or saddled on the rising generation; we cannot refrain from exclaiming, Would to God they were made amenable for their actions, and accountable for the reckoning!!

How different is the picture, when we turn our eyes upon them, their satellites, panders and abettors! There we behold the great captain of the age cursing the land with his machinations, while he hugs to his pestiferous embrace, a princely fortune, every farthing of which is pilfered from the scanty pittance of industry. We see a motley crew of pluralists and sinecurists, gorging the emoluments of office and hypocrisy, without even a fractional utility in the public service. An innumerable conclave of pensioners, who have wormed their way into the public purse, by venal acts of popular execration. A hot-bed of self-styled conservators, hanging on the public services, whether civil or military, with audacious effrontery, and rioting in salaries disproportionate to anything but the magic wand of Fortunatus. We behold a church which professes to teach the principles of Christianity, absorbing, with the rapacity of harpies, the charity funds which were bequeathed to the poor, by our virtuous ancestors; and otherwise making us pay fourfold the value of its service, in the shape of tithes, church-cesses, fees, consecrations, easter-offerings, repairing of churches, and pew-rents. We see offices created, unnecessary and ludicrous, purposely to place the extraneous brats and sucklings of the aristocracy on the public contributions. We behold more officers in the army, in this seventeenth year

of peace, than Napoleon commanded in the height of his splendour: and, watching the sources from which they are principally promoted, though we doubt not their bravery, we have great misgivings in regard to their honour and humanity. We see the magistracy of the country composed of fox-hunting parsons and sleek-brained ultra Tories, truckling to the dying embers of a desperate faction.

Turning to our laws and institutions, with the abominable chicanery and trickery in their execution; we see the petty peculator drawn from the path of rectitude by poverty, and the imbibed seductions of oppression, transported, or condemned to the gallows, while the wholesale pirate, shielded by the monied intricacies of the law, can rob and ruin hundreds of families with impunity. We see the quadrupeds of the creation protected from savage treatment, by *Martin's humane act*; while the back of the soldier or sailor, in his civil rights a citizen, is doomed to be lacerated by the lash of cruelty, to the utmost pang of torture the human frame can bear. We see the wild animals of nature, which cannot be kept together as the private property of any man, secured to the gorgeous appetites of our oppressors, by penal laws which amount to transportation, while the execution of them is steeped in blood, and stamped with a debasement and demoralization of the human mind which we cannot contemplate without horror. We see an universally abhorred Corn Bill, which doubles the incomes of the tax-eater and tithe-consumer, and robs the industrious classes of half their wages. We see the press, the best bulwark of freedom, shackled, persecuted, and belied; while its liberty is left to depend solely on the spirited perseverance of its adventurers, and the overwhelming thirst after political knowledge. We see Ireland, that ill-starred gem of the ocean, struggling to obtain the rights and privileges which are due to her in justice and equity, by a system of tactics, founded on patience, perseverance, and self-denial, which would do honour to the greatest political philosophers of the age; while it seems to be the "sole employment of the civil government to keep down the people, and collect taxes and rents; and the sole employment of the ecclesiastical establishment, to get in tithes at the point of the bayonet." In a word, we see the sufferance of the people; the enormity of the national debt; the voracity of the pensioner, placeman, and sinecurist; the temerity of the oligarchial faction; the mystification of royalty; the obduracy of the criminal code; the severity of the game laws; the tyranny of the tithe system; the partiality of the corn-laws; the malignity of the flogging system; and the insecurity of the lives, liberty, and property, of the real pillars of the realm. Such is the true situation of the country; and, while these glaring absurdities and overt acts of licentious injustice and oppression predominate, we cannot be persuaded the

victory is final, and crowned with the certainty of a happy futurity. It would be downright infatuation, to break up the sacred union of the people, before we accomplish the dissolution of the union of despotism, and see the reign of truth and justice fairly established.

The British constitution has been extorted from the remorseless grasp of tyrants at various periods; but, hitherto, Englishmen have been too much in the habit of trusting their concerns in the hands of a few leading characters, instead of attending to their rights themselves. We have followed and supported leaders; and, when they have procured a declaration of our rights, we have found our condition somewhat bettered, and have sat down tamely and contentedly, hugging the shadow to our breasts instead of the reality. Let us determine not to be deluded again. Let us improve by experience, and convince the world we are thinking beings! Let us foster the germs of political knowledge, and drive our enemies into obscurity, by a sense of their own ignorance and insignificance. And, above all, let those who join our Union be particularly cautious to reform themselves, and show, by their actions, that they are proper characters to reform others. Be firm; be just and upright: "do unto others as you would they should do unto you." Be determined to allow no one to draw you into any secret plot, or excite you to riot or outrage. If you ever suffer yourselves to fall into the childish plan of confusion and riot, you will thenceforth lose the glorious object of your wishes. Our weapons are those of "*Reason, Justice, and Truth.*" Our motto is, "*Unite, persevere, and be free.*" While we continue true to these principles, we defy all the powers of faction to prevail against us.

"It is the firm opinion of this Council, and they hereby declare it, that, under our ancient form of Government of King, Lords, and Commons, every blessing of liberty may be obtained, secured, and enjoyed; and that, with a King reigning in accordance with those principles which placed his family on, and gave them their right to, the throne of these kingdoms,—with a House of Lords deprived of all undue temptations to deem their interests distinct from those of the people,—and with a Commons House chosen by, and verily and indeed representatives of, that people,—this country may, without disturbing any of the relations of the different parts of civil society, be made to present a scene of happiness, peace, and greatness, such as Europe never yet saw."

We did hope, nay we were all but confident, that this great rectification and enlargement of the franchise, once constitutionally approved of, would have so amalgamated and cemented the three great estates of the realm, as to have secured their cordial co-operation in the great work of national improvement, a criterion so diligently sought after by the people, and so essentially necessary to the activity and promptitude of a well-regulated

government. But how have we been disappointed. The close of the great struggle for Parliamentary reform will speak more convincingly to the understanding than any language we can dictate.

We do not acknowledge ourselves an interminable faction, that would sit in judgment over the general weal, when the purity of the constitution is being acted upon with principles and vigour. We repudiate the ideas of those restless demagogues, who advocate the necessary existence of Political Unions, after the grievances of the people have been radically redressed, and the harmony of the Government permanently established.

Let the three estates of the realm be assimilated on the side of justice, and sanctify the great work of national improvement, with magnanimity and disinterestedness, and we shall cease our labours, like virtuous patriots, and proclaim to our fellow-countrymen—"That, where such a diversity of clashing interests exists, as must necessarily in a nation like this, the constitutional powers of the realm should be left to settle the business of the state without control or dictation."

At all times, and under all circumstances, factious persons will be found to play upon the passions of the multitude, according to the dictation of their own selfish motives, or misguided conceptions, but we are none of those: our maxim is, the union of all classes, and the concentration of all opinions, which can only be obtained by congregating together, and diffusing the doctrine of moral dignity and rational argument. Every great question of national improvement interests all classes of the community, but with different terminations in minor points, according to the sphere in which they move: therefore, to enlighten, disabuse, and bring into unison, the various views and opinions which float on the surface of society, is the first principle of the political philosopher.

And now to our fellow-countrymen, whether united with us in opinion and regulation or not, we give the right hand of fellowship in secular affairs, with purity and sincerity of heart, and offer a prayer to Divine Providence, to harmonize all hearts and understandings, in the glorious cause of virtue, peace, and happiness.

G. LAYTON, Secretary.

June, 1832.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, JULY 27, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

PARDOE, W. H., Cardiff, Glamorganshire, dealer in china.

WARWICK, W. A., Romford, Essex, dealer in wine.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

BAREHEAD, G., Norton, Yorkshire, corn-merchant.

BANKRUPTS.

CRANEIS, R. J., and **J. W. Ward**, late of Maldon, Essex, butchers.
KELSON, J., Bradford, Wilts, brewer.
LATHAM, W., Stow-park, Lincolnsh., higgler.
MACWATT, R., Billiter-street, Leadenhall-street, oil and colour-merchant.
MAUD, W., Bradford, Yorkshire, grocer.
SHIPMAN, A., Dudley, Worcesters., innkeeper.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HINE, R., and **R. Ralston**, Greenock, coal-merchants.
M'MORLAND, P., Greenock, merchant.
STRANG, R. R., Glasgow, insurance-broker.

TUESDAY, JULY 31, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

AGATE, M., Horsham, grocer.
PLATTS, J., Hamilton-terrace, Maida-hill, carpenter.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

CLARK, J., Godalming, linen-draper.
JEFFERIES, H., King-street, Clerkenwell, brewer.

BANKRUPTS.

ADAMS, W. J., East India-chambers, Leadenhall-street, scrivener.
BEAVER, G., Belgrave-st. South, carpenter.
BLISS, J., Chichester-place, Gray's-inn-lane-road, baker.
BOYLE, W., Newgate-street, paper-hanger.
CARTER, C. R., Cheapside, carpet-warehouse-man.
GREEN, S., Leeds, builder.
JONES, G., Carnarvon, merchant.
LEE, W., Arundel-street, Strand, commission-agent.
LOGAN, W., Upper Baker-street, Marybonne, merchant.
MATTHEWS, W., City-road, timber-merchant.
NEWINGTON, J., Lewes, Sussex, wine-merch.
NORRIS, H. J., and **G. Tyas**, Bury-place, Bloomsbury, wine-merchants.
RUDD, T., Bishopsgate-street, tea-dealer.
SANDYS, T., Bell-court, Brook's-market, bookseller.
TEMPERLEY, N., Westgate, Northumberland, ship-owner.
WATERS, J., and **A. and D. Jones**, Car-marthen, bankers.
WOOLCOTT, C. F., Tunbridge, Kent, plumber.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

EASTON, R., Glasgow, tavern-keeper.
SMELLIE, T., Coatbridge, near Airdrie, smith.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, JULY 30.

We had no new wheat at market this morning, and a very small supply of old from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk; yet as the weather continues fine, and harvest pretty generally began, there was scarcely any business doing, as only necessitous buyers would purchase, and that merely in small quantities for their immediate wants, which they were enabled to obtain at an abatement of 2s. per qr. from the quotations of last Monday. In foreign wheat, free or bonded, there was nothing doing, and prices merely nominal.

The little grinding barley that appeared was readily disposed of, on full as good terms as on this day week.

The oat trade was exceedingly heavy, and only fine fresh English corn supported the prices of last week; all other sorts were cheaper. We had one or two samples of new from Essex, the quality of which was very fine.

In beans and peas there is no alteration.

Wheat	66s. to 72s.
Rye	33s. to 34s.
Barley	30s. to 33s.
— fine	36s. to 38s.
Peas, White	38s. to 40s.
— Boilers	38s. to 40s.
— Grey	37s. to 40s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 42s.
— Tick	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to —s.
— Feed	21s. to 23s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 47s. per cwt.
— Sides, new ... 48s. to 52s.
Pork, India, new ... 132s. 0d. to —s.
Pork, Mess, new ... 77s. 0d. to —s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast ... —s. to —s. per cwt.
— Carlow ... —s. to —s.
— Cork ... 82s. to 83s.
— Limerick ... 82s. to 83s.
— Waterford ... 80s. to 82s.
— Dublin ... —s. to —s.
Cheese, Cheshire ... 60s. to 78s.
— Gloucester, Double ... 60s. to 68s.
— Gloucester, Single ... 40s. to 48s.
— Edam ... 46s. to 56s.
— Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.
Hams, Irish ... 55s. to 72s.

SMITHFIELD.—July 30.

This day's supply—full a third of the bullock part of which were Lincoln and Durham steers and heifers, with some few oxen; about another third Scots and Welsh runts; and the remainder, for the most part, about equal numbers of Herefordshire, Devonshire, and Irish steers and heifers, and short-horned, chiefly town's-end cows; about two-thirds of

the sheep and lambs, South Downs and new Leicesters; the remainder, for the most part, about equal numbers of Kents, and sundry other polled breeds—was, for the time of year, good, both as to number and quality.

Prime selling Scots, &c., say from 70 to 100 stones of 8lbs. each, prime six-teethed South Downs, and half-bred sheep not exceeding 10 stones each, and prime lambs of not more than 10lbs. per qr., were in steady demand at fully—but with other kinds of meat the trade was depressingly dull, at barely—Friday's quotations. Although there were a considerable number of the London marshmen in attendance, for the purpose of buying young sheep, which formed a considerable proportion of the fleecy part of the supply, several thousands of sheep and lambs were expected to leave the market unsold.

The veal trade was considered to be dull beyond recollected precedent.

Beasts, 2,440; sheep and lambs, 24,780; calves, 219; pigs, 100.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, August 3.

The arrivals this week are moderate but the market is very dull, with very little business doing. Prices nominally the same as on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. } Cons. Ann. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
	83 $\frac{1}{4}$	83 $\frac{1}{4}$	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$	83 $\frac{3}{4}$

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